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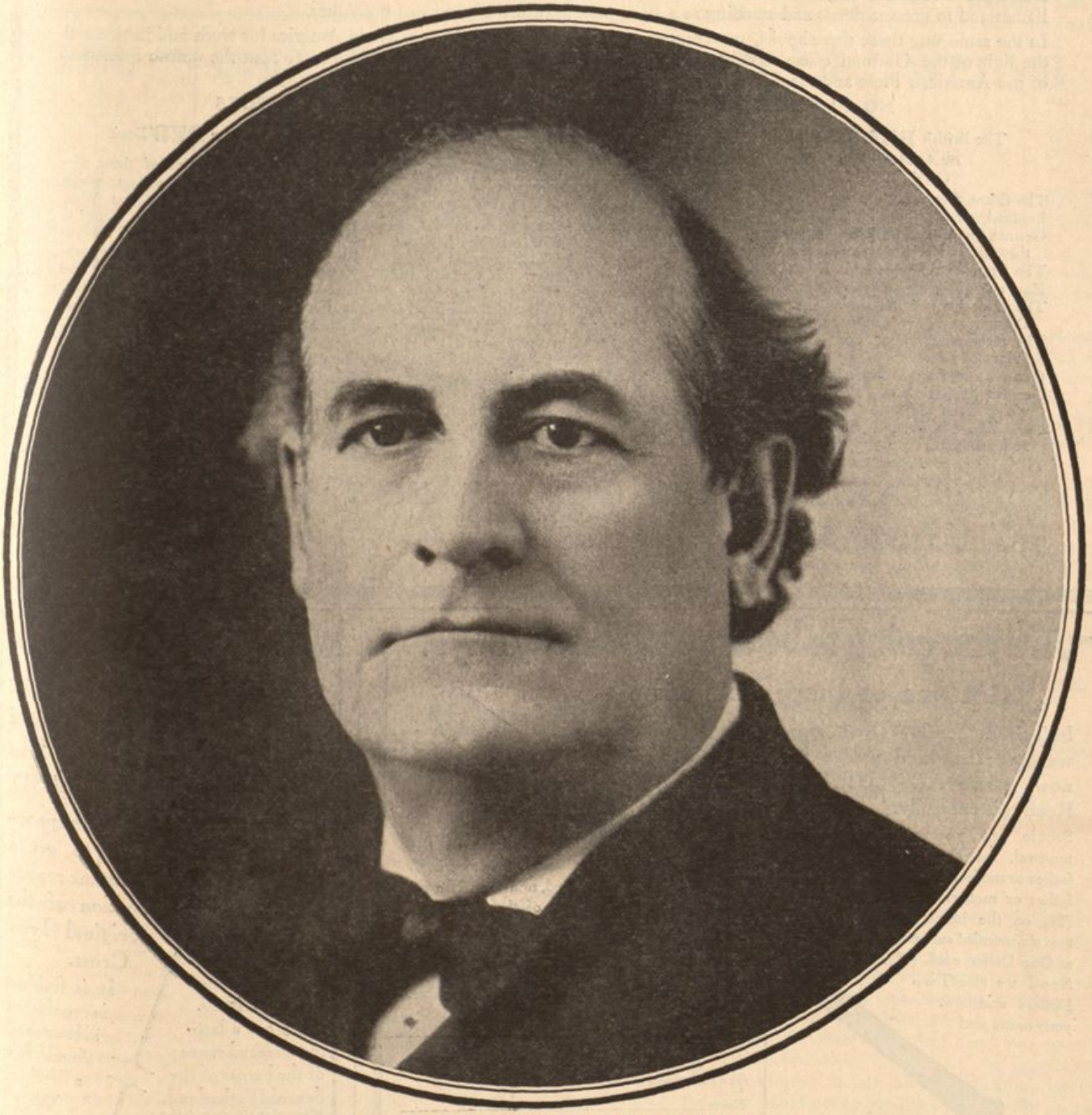

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN ★

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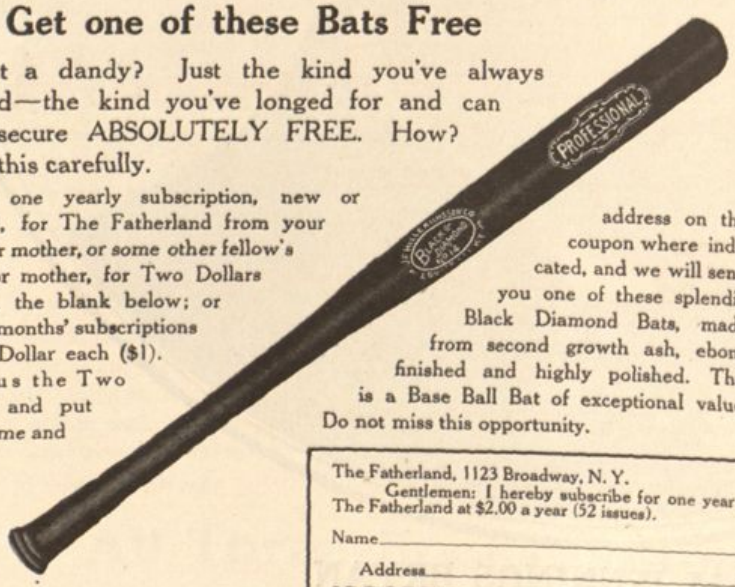

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THE FATHERLAND

Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

Edited by GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK

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VOL. II, No. 21 JUNE 30, 1915 PRICE, 5 CENTS

THE "LUSITANIA'S" ARMAMENT OF TWELVE SIX-INCH GUNS

By Frank Koester, Consulting Engineer

This article was written especially for THE FATHERLAND *and reflects the opinion of an expert on the subject. Mr. Frank Koester, who is a well-known engineer and writer, made this particular study of the armament of the "Lusitania" for the readers of* THE FATHERLAND *and for the benefit of those at Washington who have been misled by false reports and misrepresentations.*

THE great power possessed by the *Lusitania* as a war vessel is but little understood by the public. In the discussions in the press, the mounting of guns has been referred to as if they were a few quick-firing rifles, the general impression conveyed being that the *Lusitania*, if armed at all, was only armed with a few light guns such as would serve to repel a landing party in small boats or damage the periscope of a submarine.

The *Lusitania*, however, if the contention of the German Government be correct, was armed with twelve quick-firing cannons of six-inch calibre, firing projectiles capable of penetrating six inches of steel armor plate at three thousand yards range, and having a muzzle energy of over 5,000 foot tons.

The contention of the German Government is based upon the contract closed in 1903 between the British Government and the Cunard Company which provided for the mounting of the twelve guns described, as will be seen from the contract, as published in *Engineering* of London in 1907, hereinafter referred to.

With six of these guns on either side it will be seen that the *Lusitania* could deliver a broadside that would be capable of sinking any protected cruiser afloat and if she found herself in close quarters in a struggle even with a dreadnaught she could undoubtedly fire several effective rounds before being sunk.

With her heavy armament she was thus a dangerous opponent for any war vessel, and owing to her high speed, certainly the equal of any cruiser that did not mount guns of larger calibre.

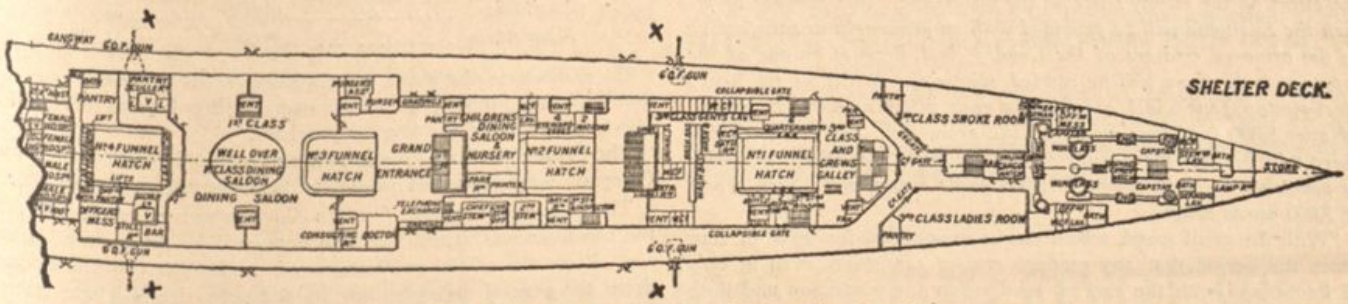
As a commerce destroyer, had she been so employed, she would have been the most dangerous war vessel of the British navy.

Even at 5,000 yards her guns were capable of penetrating 4½ inches of steel armor, and a submarine's shell is less than an inch thick and the range of its torpedoes is usually much less than five thousand yards.

Upon this formidable war vessel the British Government loaded large quantities of ammunition and sought to armor her with American passengers. Probably had the passengers known of the true character of the vessel and the nature of her cargo they would have been less ready to take passage upon this first cousin to a dreadnaught.

As an evidence of the armament of the *Lusitania* the accompanying illustration shows part of the plan of the shelter deck of the ship and indicates the exact positions of four of the forward guns. The drawing is reproduced from an authoritative source, the British weekly *Engineering*, of London, in the issue of August 2nd, 1907. (It was reprinted by that journal in its issue of May 14, last.—Ed.)

Engineering is regarded as the foremost journal published in the English language on the subject of marine engineering, shipbuilding and the like, and is of a semi-official nature, publishing from time to time the specifications and contracts for the building of the British battleships and merchant marine auxiliary cruisers, of which the *Lusitania* was one.



Plan of the *Lusitania* armed, from *Engineering*, London.

The working drawings and plans of the *Lusitania*, as published in this London periodical eight years ago, plainly show the number and location of the twelve heavy guns of the vessel, which are marked as 6" Q. F. guns (six-inch quick-firing guns). The drawings are true to scale, being reproduced from working drawings.

Four of these guns are located on either side of the vessel, on the shelter deck, beneath the promenade deck, and two are on either side of the promenade deck, forward of the promenade, among the hoisting machinery. In all cases the locations of the guns are such that they would not be readily visible to the passengers, who might easily suppose that they were on an unarmed ship.

The guns are on pivoted mountings, which enable them to be withdrawn from view. The drawings show the guns in position for firing.

The drawings also show the magazine room for the storage of ammunition, which is near the bow and well below the water-line.

In *Engineering* for August 2, 1907, the issue just mentioned, when the *Lusitania* first came into commission, the progress of Germany was discussed and the necessity for action by the British Govern-

ment shown. In that issue there appeared a 42-page description of the vessel, and in addition numerous reproductions of working drawings and plans of the ship proper. Under the sub-heading

"GOVERNMENT AND CUNARD LINE AGREEMENT, MAIL AND WAR-SERVICE SUBSIDY"

appeared the following:

"It was, therefore, a matter of keen satisfaction when Mr. Balfour's Government, in 1903, after long consideration and negotiation, entered into an agreement with the Cunard Company, in order that the latter should be maintained as a British institution with fast ships available at all times for war service. Under this agreement the Government provided a sum sufficient to pay for the new vessels, not exceeding 2,600,000 pounds sterling, secured on debentures at 2¾ per cent. interest, while in addition 150,000 pounds sterling was to be paid per annum on condition that the Company would cause to be built, in the United Kingdom, two steamships of large size, capable of maintaining the minimum average ocean speed of 24½ knots in moderate weather.

"These two ships, in addition to carrying the mails and maintaining the prestige of Britain—which we regard as a very important commercial asset—are to be at the service of the Government in the event of war.

"While carrying on business to the best advantages, the Company agrees . . . *facilities are to be given for periodical inspection by the Admiralty, and for storing guns, ammunition, etc., at the ports. . . . The Government is always to have the right of hiring the boats,* the rates for such being: for vessels over 22 knots, 25 shillings per gross register ton per month, and 5 shillings more if the Company provide officers and crew.

"In addition to holding the ships at the service of the Government, it has been prescribed in the agreement that all the officers and three-quarters of the crew shall be British subjects, and that a large proportion shall belong to the Royal Naval Reserve. The ships are thus to be utilized as a great training school for British officers and seamen, and each month a record is to be made of the personnel with this point in view.

"One important feature dealt with the fixing the design had reference to the use of the ships as cruisers and reproduced on plate XXV, show that the machinery—which is almost entirely under the water-line—has been so disposed in separate compartments, and with coal protection along each side, as to counteract, as far as possible, the effect of the enemy's fire at the water-line. *For purpose of attack the Lusitania will be provided with an armament as satisfactory as the armored cruisers of the County class, because on one of the topmost decks there will be carried, within the shelter of the heavy steel plating, four 6 inch quick-firing guns, attaining a muzzle energy of over 5,000 foot tons, while on the promenade deck on each side there will be four more guns on central pivot mountings, also able to penetrate 4¾ inch armor at 5,000 yards range, and 6 inch armor at 3,000 yards range.*

"With the great speed, which can be maintained for three or four times the period that any modern cruiser can steam even at only 21 knots, and with the careful subdivision for protection and their satisfactory offensive power, the *Lusitania* and her consort may be regarded as most effective additions to any fighting squadron. Their advent is, therefore, a great advantage from the point of view of British sea power."

It will be observed that the ship, being inspected periodically by the Admiralty, and having a large proportion of its crew members of the Naval Reserve, was at all times ready for active service.

As a peaceful merchant vessel it will be seen that the *Lusitania* was a somewhat bristling proposition.

This fact was recognized as long as two years ago, when the New York *Tribune* called attention to the fact that the *Lusitania* "will be the first British merchantman for more than a century sailing up the Lower Bay with black guns bristling over her sides."

In its issue of June 19, 1913, the *Tribune* published the following article, which between the lines indicates a certain hostility to the British policy of arming merchantmen:

"The reason why the crack liner *Lusitania* is so long delayed at Liverpool has been announced to be because her turbine engines are being completely replaced, but Cunard officials acknowledged to the *Tribune* correspondent to-day that *the greyhound is being equipped with high power naval rifles in conformity with England's new policy of arming passenger boats.* So when the great ship, the third selected by the Government for armament, next appears in New York Harbor about the end of August she will be the first British merchantman for more than a century sailing up the Lower Bay with black guns bristling over her sides.

"The *Lusitania,* which will be an almost invaluable addition to England's merchant fleet, because not only is she so fast but of such great capacity for the carrying of troops, was originally built with her decks adapted for rifles, and the task of installing the battle guns will be comparatively easy.

"It is very probable that immediately the tourist season is ended the *Mauretania* will be called to Liverpool, overhauled and equipped with guns. The British Government is hastening the task of creating an armed fleet under the red ensign. A mailboat running to South America now carries rifles, and to-morrow the Aberdeen liner *Themistocles* sails out of the Thames bound for Australia equipped with the newest type of guns."

The *Tribune* was not alone in calling attention to this practice of the British Government, as news articles and editorials in many papers gave consideration to the subject, as may be seen by reference to the files of the papers.

Mr. Richard Harding Davis in the November *Scribner's,* in an article entitled "The Germans in Brussels," stated:

"But when on the third day, we came on deck, the news was written against the sky: Swinging from the funnels, sailors were painting out the scarlet and black colors of the Cunard Line, and substituting a mouse-like grey. Overnight we had passed into the hands of the Admiralty, and the *Lusitania had emerged a cruiser.*"

Mr. Davis would make a good witness for the German embassy in establishing the truth that the *Lusitania* was indeed a warship and not an innocent passenger ship.

"The Navy List" published by the British Government contains the following reference to the relations existing between the British Admiralty and the Cunard Company:

"ROYAL NAVAL RESERVE MERCHANT VESSELS—422.

"Royal Naval Reserve Merchant Vessels.

"The vessels named below are held by the Cunard Company at the disposal of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty and receive an annual subvention.

Name of Steamer	H. P.	Gross Tonnage
Lusitania	68,000	31,550
Mauretania	68,000	31,938

"In addition to the above the Company holds all vessels, for the time being the property of the Company, at the disposal of His Majesty's Government for hire or purchase."

The "Navy List" also states that on August 23, 1907, the Cunard Company was authorized to display the blue flag under No. 813.

The good faith of the German Government in contending that the *Lusitania* was armed has been impugned by the press in America. From the official publications of the British Government and from the general understanding in European circles it was fair to assume that the *Lusitania* was armed.

The only contrary evidence is that of our Collector of the New York Port, Dudley Field Malone, who states that the *Lusitania* upon inspection had no guns mounted when she left the port of New York on her last trip.

Of the inspection of Collector Malone the German Government could have known nothing. The ship was generally understood to be armed. It admittedly carried large quantities of ammunition. Whether it was armed or not is within the power of the British Government to prove. Evidently, according to the New York *Tribune* and the generally accepted understanding, the *Lusitania* was at one time armed. The guns were once in place, even if only for purposes of trial. The *Lusitania's* guns evidently existed. If she was not armed when sunk, the British Government can prove by its Admiralty records the date upon which her guns were removed and where they were stored, for if she did not carry guns they must have been in some British arsenal ready for mounting. In fact, if the *Lusitania's* guns did not go down with the ship the British Government can at this moment exhibit them to neutral witnesses. No offer of such exhibition has been made.

The British Government can also say where the *Mauretania's*

guns are, whether on that ship or in storage, as a corroborative piece of evidence. Will it do so?

It would seem far more likely that on entering New York harbor, the *Lusitania's* guns were concealed in the coal bunkers or in special rooms provided for the purpose, and thus she was able to pass inspection and on reaching the high seas again, to replace the guns in position. Such a procedure would be in strict accordance with the British Government's traditional policy of duplicity and would explain the conflicting statements given out.

The *Caronia* left New York harbor early in the war, after passing inspection, and immediately afterwards stood outside the three mile limit for many weeks. No steamer unarmed would remain in such a position for such a period of time. Evidently that was another case of coal bunker armament.

The relations of the German submarines to the British merchantmen are not properly understood. It is generally assumed that the merchantmen are defenseless and that the submarines are perfectly safe and that a struggle between them is with the advantage all on the side of the submarines. Such is not the case. In sinking merchantmen the German submarines are acting clearly within their rights as laid down in international law for the reason that by orders of the British Admiralty the British merchantmen are without exception acting as war vessels.

They are instructed to ram submarines and are awarded prizes for so doing. This alone places all merchantmen at once in the class of war vessels.

They are announced by the British Government to be generally armed, and the Parliamentary Secretary in an answer to the question by Lord Charles Beresford gave the declaration to Parliament that practically all British merchant vessels were armed and provided with hand grenades.

Following these policies King George decorated the Captain of the merchant steamer *Thordis* for ramming and sinking a German submarine, while the British Admiralty made him a Lieutenant of the Naval Reserve.

The submarine *U-14* was fired upon and sunk by an English fishing steamer after the submarine commander had signalled the steamer that the crew had five minutes in which to leave the vessel.

Otto Weddigen, commander of the famous *U-9* which sank the three British cruisers *The Aboukir*, the *Cressy* and the *Hawk*, early in the war, lost his life and went down in *U-29*, the submarine being rammed and sunk by an English tank steamer under a neutral (Swedish) flag, which took advantage of the delay when hailed and ordered to show its papers by Weddigen.

The persistence in such policies and the general orders to merchant vessels to act as war vessels when threatened by submarines, and to escape them by increasing speed when hailed, constitute violations of international law, which clearly prescribes that merchantmen must stop when hailed and shall not act in a hostile manner. All British merchantmen may therefore properly and on the evidence of the British Government itself be regarded as war vessels and as such are liable to be sunk without notice just as are war vessels used exclusively for belligerent purposes.

As far as the *Lusitania* was concerned, she was a dreadnaught in relation to the submarine and it is more than likely that at the time of the accident she had men manning her guns ready to fire at the first evidence of a submarine. The announcement of her captain before he started that he could and would run away from a submarine if he encountered one was also a violation of international law and had there been no other violation would have made his vessel liable to attack without warning.

The military justification of the sinking of the *Lusitania* is therefore complete. As to its moral justification every one must draw his own conclusion. Owing to the great size of the vessel it seems quite possible that the German authorities did not suppose that a torpedo would sink the vessel. In all probability their plans called merely for disabling the vessel. No ship of such size ever went down so quickly (less than 15 minutes) and had the captain shut the water tight compartments before entering the war zone and taken proper action after being struck she probably would not have sunk until the passengers were off. Of the 1,355 passengers and the crew of 651 only 772 were saved, of the latter number more than half were members of the crew. Owing to the large cargo of ammunition which appears to have exploded after the vessel was struck and to have been the final cause of the sinking, the British government has certainly the ultimate responsibility. What justification there can be for placing passengers on a munition ship is not apparent. Indeed it is utterly indefensible and the British government is not only chargeable with the loss of life due to the disaster but also with provocative conduct.

Furthermore, the British government is not making proper efforts to sift the facts in the case.

One singular fact, for example, concerning the situation is that no report has come to this country as to the depth of water in which the *Lusitania* sank. It was surmised that as the stern of the ship sank bow down and at a certain point stopped sinking, that the bow struck the ocean bottom. This was further confirmed by the small suction observed as the vessel sank. If this be the case, the vessel should not be too deep for examination by divers. When it was proposed that neutral divers be sent down to examine the vessel the British Admiralty refused to listen to the suggestion.

Neutral divers would tell in a very short time whether the vessel was armed or not, and the reason for the internal explosion. These are facts, however, which it is evident that the British Government does not want known.

The situation as it stands is well suited to the purpose of British policy. Indeed it would seem from the circumstances that her destruction was deliberately courted by the British Admiralty as a means of embroiling America in the war.

THE EMBARGO ON ARMS IS THE PIVOT OF GERMAN-AMERICAN SENTIMENT

IN a previous issue of THE FATHERLAND the result of replies to a questionnaire addressed to the German-American press of this country was summed up chiefly along the lines of the change affected in the political sentiments of the reading public represented by that press in regard to President Wilson. It was shown that by his course relative to the war in Europe the President had lost 92 per cent of the German-American vote cast for him in the election of 1912. It seemed evident, however, from the answers that a certain percentage of this vote would return to him if radical changes were made in his policy. But the feeling seemed to be at that time that Mr. Wilson had permanently alienated over 66 per cent of the vote cast in his favor in 1912.

Returns received since the writing of that article do not alter the results stated, although it is significant that the feeling among the German-American people is in certain ways less fixedly opposed to the present Administration now than it was at that time. It may be assumed that certain events which have taken place have brought about this change.

We can state emphatically that the chief matter that concerns the German-Americans in this country at the present time is the question of permitting American manufacturers to furnish arms and ammunition to the Allies while Germany, to her crucial disadvantage, is cut off from this supremely vital supply. Many of the replies were received after the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the conviction is obvious from a study of these replies that had an embargo on the export of arms and ammunition been in force such a catastrophe would have been averted.

The tone of Mr. Wilson's second note to Germany has done much to temper the earlier antagonism towards him. The expectation that the President will address a protest to Great Britain no less vigorous than his first protest to Germany has had also an effect. Finally, the resignation of Mr. Bryan from his office of Secretary

BRYAN'S MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Things That Bryan Said at the Labor Meeting Saturday, June 19th, That Never Got Into the Papers

THE duties of a Government and its citizens are reciprocal.

The business of a Government is to protect the citizen, but the citizen owes it to his Government not to embroil it by foolhardy conduct.

If the fact that the taking of passage by an American citizen on a ship carrying arms and ammunition is likely to embroil his Government, it is the business of the citizen to keep off that ship.

of State has so focussed public attention that from now on the Administration stands or falls purely upon the personality of the President. At the present time a policy of watchful waiting in regard to his actions seems to have been adopted.

Embargo on Arms

An analysis of the replies received from German-American editors to the question as to whether an embargo on arms was favored as a retaliatory measure against British interference with American commerce as well as on purely ethical grounds furnishes the most interesting index to the state of German-American sentiment. All told, 213 publications have replied to this question. Of this number 170 editors demand an embargo on the sale of arms both as a retaliatory measure and on ethical principles. Sixteen editors favor it as a retaliatory measure purely. Five favor it on ethical principles only. Sixteen flatly oppose an embargo. The editors of four newspapers, while refusing to express any opinion in their capacity as editors, owing to the nature of their publications, stated that personally they are opposed to the sale of instruments of death, and that, in their opinion, the readers of their publications shared their objection. Two editors declared they would not answer the questions because it was against their conceptions of the principle of neutrality to take any stand whatever.

Embargo as a War Measure

Prof. Theodore Graebner, of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., the editor of *Der Lutheraner*, a publication reaching over 100,000 voters who are members of the Lutheran Church, declares that he is emphatically opposed to the sale of arms. He adds: "If President Wilson had sent a few cruisers to convoy our ships to neutral harbors and, if necessary, give battle to every British or French ship that wanted to exercise sovereign rights at sea he would have had the backing of the entire nation."

"Unless an embargo is put on the sale of arms we would suggest that the united German press oppose Mr. Wilson or any candidate or party that he is affiliated with," is the opinion expressed by the editor of a Minnesoto journal having a circulation of over 100,000 voters. The publishers of this journal also publish a farm magazine which reaches more than 100,000 voters, and the same policy governs its editorial views.

Among the other publications demanding an embargo on arms are the *Germania*, Milwaukee, Wis., with a circulation of over 100,000 voters; the *Germania Daily Herold*, of Milwaukee, with a circulation of 35,000 voters; the Lincoln (Neb.) *Freie Presse*, with a circulation of 300,000; the La Crosse (Wis.) *Nordstern, Morgenstern* and *Volkspost*, with a combined circulation of more than 30,000; the *Dakota Freie Presse*, of Aberdeen, South Dakota, with a circulation of 15,000; the *Bostoner Anzeiger*, of Boston, Mass., with a circulation of 7,000; *Das Wochenblatt*, of Chicago, Ill., with a circulation of 15,000; *Der National Demokrat*, Dubuque, Iowa, with a circulation of 3,500; the *German Evening Companion*, a family magazine published in St. Louis, with a circulation reaching 80,000 voters; *Der Wanderer*, of St. Paul, Minn., reaching at least 20,000 voters; the Omaha (Neb.) *Tribune*, reaching 22,000 voters.

Certain other important newspapers published in New York, Ohio, Arkansas, Illinois and Pennsylvania, reaching 400,000 voters, take the stand that the sale of arms and ammunition to the European nations at war is not only a violation of American neutrality in so far as under present conditions it acts against Germany but upon ethical reasons also. For reasons of policy we are not permitted to list these papers, but they are among the most influential in the country.

Of the sixteen editors who favor an embargo as a war measure only a number have stated their reasons. The editor of the Sedalia (Missouri) *Journal*, says:

"In my humble opinion there is no ethical ground in this proposition in regard to an embargo on arms."

The editor of the *Volksfreund* and *Arbeiter Zeitung*, published by the Socialist Labor Party in Cleveland, O., reaching a circulation of 20,000 voters, states that in his opinion ethical grounds have little weight.

The fact that prevailing commercial conditions prevent the sale of arms to Germany, while permitting their transmission to the British Allies, is raised by the editors of the *Ohio Waisenfreund*, of Columbus, Ohio, published by the Pontifical College Josephinum. This is one of the most powerful Roman Catholic organs in the Middle West and reaches at least 75,000 voters. The editorial opinion is stated as follows: "As long as there are wars and as long as neutrals may export arms to warring nations we are not against such export. But under present conditions, where Germany has the nugatory privilege of buying from us theoretically only, ethical reasons demand an embargo on arms."

The Colorado Herold, published in Denver, Colo., with a circulation of 25,000, favors an embargo on arms purely on ethical grounds. Other newspapers, published in Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan, with a combined circulation of over 60,000, take the same stand.

The newspapers represented in this summary cover all sections of the country and represent a total circulation of more than 2,500,000 voters. One of the most significant facts in connection with an embargo on arms is that a large percentage of the newspapers unequivocally declare that an embargo on arms should apply not only to British Allies but to the Teutonic Allies as well.

With the exception of twelve newspapers, which state that they would support the President under any circumstances, the answers received from the rest show that the feeling expressed by the editor just quoted is growing throughout the country. Since receiving the first answers many editors who previously declared themselves opposed to the re-election of President Wilson have written THE FATHERLAND expressing a moderation of German-American sentiment.

Sentiment in the East

An analysis of the replies, based on geographical distribution, shows that the sentiment of German-Americans discussed in the first article is unanimous throughout the country. For the purposes of analysis the country has been divided into three sections: First, the Eastern Seaboard States, including New England, the Central States and the South; second, the Middle West, extending from the Appalachians to the Rockies and as far south as Texas; third, Texas and the Pacific Coast states. It will be recalled that approximately three-fifths of the German-American vote under consideration was cast for President Wilson in 1912. The other two-fifths would naturally be unaffected by the course of current events so far as future political support is concerned. Generally this proportion holds good in the geographical sections designated.

In the first section, which may be called the Eastern, approximately fifty newspapers have sent in replies. These fifty publications represent about three-quarters of a million voters. About 500,000 of these voters were supporters of President Wilson in 1912. Without one exception these publications declare that unless radical changes take place in President Wilson's policy, his course in the present war will permanently alienate their support.

The Eastern States are largely manufacturing states and the labor conditions created by the manufacture of ammunition would have

more weight here than elsewhere. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Alabama, for instance, are located the mines and manufacturing establishments which profit greatly by the present traffic in munitions of war. Previous to the outbreak of the war, and for some months subsequent, a marked business depression had affected this territory. Manufacturing plants and mines were either working on half time or were temporarily closed. With the placing of huge war orders, plants and mines resumed operation on full time, in certain cases the rush being so great that double time work became the order of the day. This meant for the workers steady and increased wages. It meant relief from debt, freedom from anxiety, local prosperity. It must be borne in mind, however, that the workers in the mines of Pennsylvania and other states, with the exception of the Italians, are nearly all either by birth or direct inheritance, sympathetically attached to the Teutonic allies. Despite their personal prosperity, and the betterment of living conditions, the workers in these sections are opposed to the present conditions governing the sale of guns and ammunition and the export of all war supplies.

The editor of the Connecticut *Staats-Zeitung*, Paul Hoeckel, declares that even among American citizens of other than German descent, "at least seventy-five percent favor an embargo on arms." In Connecticut are located some of the largest arms works in this country. The orders placed by the Allies there amount to millions of dollars.

O. E. Heck, the president of the Schenectady (New York) *Herold*, says: "America should not help England or any other power." The editor of the *Evangelische Zeitschrift*, of Harrisburg, Pa., near the center of Pennsylvania's great mining district, says: "I find only one in a hundred who favors the shipment of arms to any of the warring nations."

Sentiment of the Middle West

In that section of the country which we have designated as the Middle West about 145 publications have responded to THE FATHERLAND'S questionnaire. These papers represent one and a half million voters, of whom about one million were supporters of Mr. Wilson in 1912. Here again the trend of sentiment indicated by the replies received from the East holds good. Commercial considerations do not weigh so heavily in the Middle West as in the East although the British policy of asserting domination of the seas has to a great extent hampered the exportation of grains and foodstuffs which are to a large extent a source of this section's wealth. Possibly more than in any other section of the country does the German element predominate here. In Wisconsin, Nebraska, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kansas and Missouri German emigrants of the last two generations have made their home. Many of the leading business enterprises and financial institutions of Chicago and St. Louis, for instance, are controlled by Americans of German descent. The sentiment in this section, even among those who opposed President Wilson in 1912, is emphatically and unanimously in favor of an embargo upon the shipment of war supplies to any of the belligerents. It may be remarked that from these great prosperous states have come munificent contributions for the relief of the Belgians. The opinions of some of the influential organs follow.

Valentine J. Peter, editor of the Omaha (Nebraska) *Tribune*, with a daily circulation of 22,000, says: "All elements in this community, even many of English descent, are in favor of an embargo on the shipment of arms to all nations. This is proved by a convass of the leading business men."

The editors of the *Daily Germania Herold* and of the weekly *Germania*, of Milwaukee, Wis., reaching more than 135,000 voters, declare: "There is a very strong sentiment in this community against this infamous trade in munitions of war."

"We consider the present business in munitions and arms nothing less than a crime," writes G. Heinmiller, editor of *Der Christliche Botschafter Evangelischer Missionbote*, a religious paper published in Cleveland, Ohio, with a circulation of 30,000. "The sentiment in our locality is mixed, but think it is growing in favor of an embargo."

"The sentiment in this community is overwhelmingly in favor of an embargo on the exportation of arms on the grounds of humanity, justice and mercy," says the editor of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, Chicago, Ill., which reaches more than 50,000 voters daily. The editor of the Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung*, one of the most important labor papers in the Middle West, with a circulation of more than 25,000 voters, declares: "If the war material factories were owned by the government there would have been no trouble."

Pacific Coast Wants Embargo

From the Pacific coast THE FATHERLAND received replies from about twenty German-American newspapers. These represent approximately 250,000 voters. Of these about 175,000 were supporters of President Wilson in 1912. The sentiment on the Pacific coast is to a much higher percentage divided on the question of the support to be accorded Mr. Wilson should he be a candidate in 1916 than in other portions of the country. This is undoubtedly largely due to the fact that the effects of the war in this territory have been felt much less than in the East and Middle West. The following excerpts from replies are fairly indicative.

The editor of the Los Angeles (California) *Germania*, which reaches about 16,000 voters, says: "We want strict neutrality, favoring neither Germany nor the British Allies. The majority of the citizens in this section seem to favor an embargo on arms."

The Benedictine Fathers publish in St. Benedict, Oregon, two journals, the *Armer-Seelen-Freund* and the *St. Joseph's-Blatt*, which reach approximately 45,000 voters. They state that to a degree they supported President Wilson in 1912. In answer to the question as to whether they believe the President has endeavored to maintain strict neutrality they say: "President Wilson is entirely pro-British and every true American must feel ashamed of the manner in which this great country has been treated by England without a protest from the Administration." They assert that there has been shown no true spirit of neutrality, and that "without an embargo we are traitors," that this country is "morally bound to shorten the war" by declaring an embargo, and that the present course of the Administration is condemned in their region.

The editor of the Oakland *Journal*, of Oakland, California, says future support of the citizens of that section for President Wilson will depend on the standing of his opponent in 1916, and that an embargo on the shipment of arms is favored. A. E. Fritsche, editor of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, published in Cuero, Texas, says that the sentiment in his locality favors an embargo on the shipment of arms as a means of shortening the war and that President Wilson's course in this matter will largely influence the voters if he be a candidate for re-election in 1916. The editor of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* of Neu-Braunfels, Texas, states that citizens of every descent are opposed to the exportation of arms and ammunition to be used to maim and kill the relatives of American citizens.

The conclusion to be drawn from the replies received in response to the canvass made by THE FATHERLAND is unmistakable. German-Americans throughout the country are practically one in feeling that President Wilson has failed to observe neutrality in its virtual sense by not placing an embargo on the export of arms and ammunition. It is incontestable that his failure to do this has alienated the support of this large and influential vote. It is made plain that German-Americans feel that such a catastrophe as the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with the loss of American lives, would have been obviated by this just expedient. It is incontrovertible that, unless President Wilson adopts a policy of true neutrality and stops the export of the instruments to kill, he cannot expect the support of the German-Americans who voted for him in 1912. Nor will he have back of him, unless this is done, the sympathy and good will of German-American citizens in any and whatever policies he may pursue. Judging by the more recent replies it is significant that a large part of the sentiment at present is tentative, and that if President Wilson takes the inevitably just and fair course it is possible he may win back what his failure so far has lost.

The Attack on Karlsruhe

THE aerial attack on Karlsruhe was as needless as it was atrocious. Yet we have no patience with those who protest against it because it endangered the lives of American citizens in that city. In times like these the place of Americans is at home, where they are no source of embarrassment to their country. If they insist on staying abroad, they must take chances with the belligerent nations, whether their abode be Karlsruhe or London.

HOW THEY LIVE IN BERLIN DURING WAR TIME

By M. M.

(We herewith take pleasure in reprinting the following extract from a letter sent to us by an American woman now residing in Berlin. With charming simplicity she describes the almost Spartan-like manner in which those who are not at the front live in Germany to-day. It is this spirit of mutual help and cooperation throughout all Germany that has made the Teuton so invincible to the iron ring of foes that encircle her.)

WHEN one has not lived on the other side for four years one sees many things with different eyes; we, too, have a very different understanding of many American ideas. It is necessary to have been born on the other side to understand the peculiar soul of the people, which has, of course developed through the mixture of many races. Here there is great sorrow and righteous indignation about the great exportation of ammunition, and the people are right. It may be permissible according to international law, but no doubt can exist about the moral wrong which is being done the Germans. Our position is very unpleasant even towards our German friends who cannot forget that if one of their dear ones fall, our ammunition has robbed father, brother, husband, or son of life. I can understand their point of view. You want to know how the days pass here? Just as usual, only with the addition that everything revolves around the war and what is connected with it. The streets are as usual crowded with people with the difference that among the crowd are many "field-grays," who, whether healthy or convalescing, remind us that we are living in great and serious times. There are theatres, concerts, lectures, just as in times of peace, but in these, too, the brave boys take a part, enjoy life for a short time and bear their pains with great patience. Great things are being achieved in all the hospitals, the self-sacrifice of the women of all classes is wonderful and simply unlimited. At the beginning I thought that this would abate with time. On the contrary, they are all at their posts and keep a faithful watch over the heroes entrusted to their care; for each one is a hero and they all deserve the Iron Cross. God grant that they will be rewarded for their sacrifices by splendid results so that it can really be said in the future: The world shall recover by means of German ways and methods.

At the head of all the welfare work is the Empress, touching and untiring in her care, giving comfort and help, never resting, never tired, always bringing joy wherever she goes. She shirks from no hardship and has the same cares as the poorest in her country—at the front are her husband, five strapping sons and a son-in-law. And the wives of all of these young heroes stand by her faithfully, "Our Crown Princess" was in the lead, as long as she could; now she must rest whether she wants to or not, for she now has the higher task of giving a new member to the royal house. The court also conforms to the restrictions which are imposed on all of us so that we may "hold out" by simplification of meals and war-bread which tastes very well. We can thank God if we always have such bread. Whether they have "bread tickets," too, I cannot say. Foresight is the mother of wisdom and it is a very good thing if we learn to adapt ourselves. If we have anything left, so much the better; if we must limit ourselves then it is always better that we learn how gradually. Simple life never hurt anyone and we had grown quite luxurious.

You have no idea what the large women's societies do in order to check all need, above all the "Patriotic Women's Service," the "Berlin Housewives' League," etc. Last night I visited the latter; it is really remarkable how much they give for thirty pfennigs. Every class of society is represented. The great artists also have societies for the aid of their poor colleagues. There, too, one can obtain a full meal for thirty pfennigs. All sorts of homes were founded for them and others where they could find a refuge gratis or for a nominal sum. Many private families have either taken them into their homes entirely or for meals. No one shirks from the sacrifices of discomfort. So much is being done for the unfortunate fugitives from East Prussia. The "Red Cross," the "Railroad Station Mission," private individuals are working unitedly in order to help. Concerts, lectures, theatrical performances—everyone helps in his own way and you must admit that aid on such a basis can accomplish a great deal. Added to this are the many relief committees. I am glad to be able to say that we Americans are also doing our share. The American's People's Kitchen and the Sewing Club are working splendidly, thanks to the munificence of rich Americans and the industry of the women. We have sent many hundreds of packages to the front. The women sew industriously every day from ten to one. Mrs. Gerard is at the head of the kitchen and the ladies of the American Colony come daily to help. The services of the "railroad station mission" are splendid, which feeds from eight hundred to one thousand men daily, some who are going to the front, some who are returning, with coffee, sandwiches, rolls, etc. There are large numbers of wives of Excellencies and Privy Councillors. The service is by no means easy. Every division is on duty for about four hours. The coffee is cooked, the sandwiches are prepared, also the gifts which consist of woolens, books, etc., but mainly of cigars and cigarettes and which are received with great pleasure. Some ladies are on duty in the morning from six to ten and at night, sometimes until 1.30. We have obtained a car for our work. It is equipped with electric light and a gas range, lockers, and cabinets of all sorts, for the many cups and dishes that are used and the supplies. The whole is divided into a large and a small room, equipped with hangings, a mirror and all sorts of conveniences to make it comfortable. All the ladies must help to clean, sweep, wash dishes, watch the fire, etc., and not one goes on strike whether she is a countess, or the simple wife of a professor, or a teacher, and the tone which prevails among them is just as friendly as that between officers and soldiers. You ought to see how busy everyone is when the trains are signalled. They all run as fast as their feet can carry them with their trays of coffee and baskets of sandwiches in order to give as many as possible a swallow of coffee before the train leaves again. At the railroad station the most touching care is taken of the fugitives. They are directed to places of refuge, and the children who arrive without their parents are taken in charge.

Besides these mentioned there are a great many other means of relief. The Countess Schwerin and her court ladies make covers, pillows, etc., of paper; cooking is taught to soldiers; unemployed women are given sewing, knitting, etc., to do.

There is industry and everywhere just as many people as usual. Of course one cannot get as many rolls as formerly, at Kempinski's, for example. Now one has to show one's "bread ticket" and have it "punched for fifty grams." There seem to be larger amounts of potatoes on hand; we had hoarded them too carefully. Flour must be used sparingly and mixed with potato flour for baking cake. That does not matter, however; the Germans have to learn to use other ingredients. The shop-windows are as usual, with the difference that everything patriotic, which has anything to do with the war takes the first place. Public sentiment is very serious. "We want to and will hold out to the end," they all say. The subject of conversation is always the war and recently "war recipes" among the women!

Ex-Mayor of Syracuse Indorses "The Fatherland"

To the Editor of THE FATHERLAND:—

YOU are to be congratulated on your very interesting and accurate article from Dublin in last week's issue on the state of affairs in Ireland. Mr. John Redmond and other British sources have convinced the American press that no less than 250,000 Irishmen have joined the British Army. The New York *Sun* of yesterday in their review of enlistments in Ireland find that the total number of Irishmen who have enlisted since the war broke out is only 53,200 and, of this small number Ulster raised 38,000 in her few counties while Nationalist Ireland, that is, the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, has only contributed 15,000 after a ten months' recruiting campaign. The *Sun* adds that there is a heavy emigration from the South and West each week.

The truth is that Ireland will have a revolution if the threatened conscription is undertaken by the government.

Very truly yours,

New York, June 14, 1915. JAMES K. McGUIRE.

LOYALTY AND A SOVEREIGN PEOPLE

By Dr. Edmund von Mach, Author of "What Germany Wants"

WHEN the United States of America was founded, the fathers of the country wished not only to break the ties to a mother country which had ceased to understand her colony, but also to throw overboard some antiquated ideas and prejudices. Provinces had separated from mother countries before, but in establishing their new commonwealths they had invariably followed the old political notions. They had deposed one sovereign and raised another to his place. The idea that the people of a country are sovereign in their own right had not occurred to them. Without this idea, however, true progress on the road to perfect freedom is impossible.

In the United States of America this idea found expression on a big scale for the first time when King George III was deposed as sovereign of this country, many of his duties and prerogatives passing to the chief executive, the president. The sovereignty itself, however, passed to the people. Each individual citizen is a sharer in this sovereignty.

New citizens renounce their allegiance to their former individual sovereigns, King George, Czar Nicholas, Emperor William, as the case may be, but do *not* swear allegiance to the President of the United States, but to the United States, the country, and the ideals on which it is founded. Instead of exchanging sovereigns, King George, for instance, with Czar Nicholas, they are accepted into the company of a sovereign people, and themselves become sovereign. A Russian who is naturalized in the United Kingdom or in Canada becomes a subject of King George. The royal sovereignty in Great Britain may be only a weak survival of the past and the people exercise most of its rights. The fact, however, remains that every Englishman, and Canadian, and Australian is a *subject* owing absolute allegiance to his king, while every citizen of the United States is a free man and a member of a sovereign people.

This fact is often overlooked but deserves to be emphasized over and over again. During recent administrations the presidents have often erroneously assumed, or at least acted as if they believed, that as chief executives they performed not only the customary duties of a sovereign but enjoyed also some special sovereign rights. An especially offensive custom of recent years has made the presidents speak of the American ambassadors abroad as "my ambassador at London," etc., etc. Ambassadors are personal representatives of one sovereign at the court of another. The President of the United States is not a sovereign, and for him to speak of "my ambassador" is an assumption which cannot be too strongly resented.

Many of the present day abuses are directly traceable to the fact that the pride of the people as freemen, owing allegiance to no one individual, has failed to assert itself. This inheritance, however, with which every American is born, and which a generous republic bestows on those it admits to citizenship, is so wonderful that no one should for one moment forget it.

Noblesse oblige! and sovereignty implies not only privileges and prerogatives, but also duties. Even in the monarchical countries of Europe nobody assumes that the king or emperor is a law unto himself. In America this is much more so. The sovereign people have duties which go much farther than casting their votes, paying their taxes, and obeying their own laws. They have sworn allegiance to the United States and the ideals on which the country is founded. If they are faithful, therefore, to their oath, or the oaths their fathers or fathers' fathers have sworn before them, they will perform the routine duties of their citizenship with the pride and honesty that trust in these ideals implies. American citizenship means giving, not receiving; duty, not enjoyment.

No American can shirk the duties entailed by his sovereign citizenship. The world rightly demands more of free men than of subjects. The *subject* may ease his conscience when he obeys an unrighteous call of his government with the thought that he has no duty save to obey his sovereign. The freeman holds an entirely different relation to his government. As an individual the chief executive is his equal in sharing with him and all the people the sovereignty. But as an official, even though he be the president, he is the servant of the people. There is no more un-American doctrine than this, that in momentous times the president should be supported by everybody, irrespective of whether he is right or wrong. On the contrary, the harder the time the more insistent should come the call to every member of a sovereign people to steer close to the ideals as he sees them.

No compass is entirely true. The sailor knows this and before he sets out on a dangerous journey, has his compass tested. Prejudice and ignorance are the forces which in public life divert our compass needle from pointing straight to our ideals. General information, broad-mindedness and the free intercourse with other people are the correctives. But hear we must. We cannot surrender our rights and duties, or we should not be sovereign. If we see the president heading for dangerous ground, and all the ships following him, their navigators discarding their compasses and shouting that loyalty and patriotism demanded this, we have no right to do the same. Nor have we the right to keep silence. It is our duty to state our conviction that the nation is dangerously off the course. There is, until the wreck has happened, the chance that the president, or the big majority of his followers, may see that he has been mistaken.

One other point should not be forgotten. The sovereign of a foreign nation and his chosen advisers are expected to decide *for* the people, and after their decision has been made their *subjects* are expected loyally to support them. In America the opposite should be the case. The sovereign people should decide, and their chief executive should loyally support them. The people cannot decide justly unless they have all the information. For the president or the state department to withhold the information which they have gathered, not for themselves but for the people, whose servants they are, is un-American and disloyal.

The present crisis may well raise the question whether the implied rights given the president are not too far-reaching. For a week the American people waited with bated breath and asked "What will the President say?" and teachers of a mistaken loyalty said, "Whatever he decides our patriotism demands that we support him, to a man."

Men of America awake! Withdraw yourselves from the spell of that false doctrine. The president is not your sovereign, he is your servant. And when instead of listening to you he shuts himself up in his study and steers a course which you deem wrong. it is not loyalty but cowardice, not patriotism but treachery to follow him. You have sworn allegiance to the United States and the ideals on which the country is founded. Liberty, truth and justice are the cornerstones of these foundations.

If the United States sinks back to the level of European monarchies, if you have exchanged a king for a president, allegiance to King George or Emperor William for allegiance to Woodrow Wilson, the fathers of this country have worked in vain, the great struggle to keep the Union together has been in vain, and the hopes and labors of countless noble Americans have been wasted.

The one great truth without which the United States becomes a mockery is that here the people are sovereign, owing allegiance to no man, but to themselves, their country and its ideals. To say that patriotism demands the subordination of one's ideals to those of any one political leader is erroneous. When in the interest of the orderly continuance of an established state of freemen, the question arises, "What shall I do?" The conscience of the individual must be his only guide.

It is, however, necessary to remember that neither countries nor men are ever freed once for all times. We may inherit money from our fathers, but cannot inherit free institutions, for they will pass from existence unless each generation wins the right to possess them, by being worthy of them. Only a sovereign people is worthy of free institutions. The rights, duties, and responsibilities of sovereignty cannot be abdicated.

THE FATHERLAND

Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

NEW YORK, JUNE 30, 1915

THE WARSHIP "LUSITANIA"

WE publish to-day an article, accompanied by a diagram, which leaves no doubt, Captain Turner's oath notwithstanding, as to the status of the auxiliary cruiser *Lusitania*. The *Lusitania* was armed, for this is one of the conditions specified in the contract between the owners of the *Lusitania* and the British Government. We publish the paragraph in question.

There can be no question that the blood of the innocent non-combatants rests upon England and the United States. Germany's hands are clean. It rests upon the United States, because the United States Government was aware of the character of the *Lusitania* and of its cargo. If the United States Government desires to disprove this charge, let it publish all the reports on the subject officially received from the Collector of the Port and the Secret Service. The President, in his note to Germany, evades the issue by asking Germany to prove that the auxiliary cruiser *Lusitania* was armed for "offensive" purposes. If the *Lusitania* was armed for "defensive" purposes only, then the *Essex* and other British warships nosing about in American harbors, are also armed for defensive purposes only.

The fate of the *U-29*, treacherously rammed by a British vessel masquerading under the Swedish flag, makes it clear that every British merchantman, whether armed or unarmed, must be regarded as a warship. It is to be hoped that Germany will not sacrifice another hero like Weddigen to an ill-timed sense of chivalry in her relations with English pirates. It is also to be hoped that Germany will exercise the utmost care in dealing with American passenger ships, provided these ships carry no implements of war for the destruction of German soldiers.

A POLICY OF INTIMIDATION?

Are State and Federal Officials in League to Suppress the Truth in the *Lusitania* Case?

WHY is Stahl, the man who made affidavit that he saw guns mounted on the *Lusitania*, being treated like a convicted criminal? Why are all the witnesses in the case treated as dangerous criminals? Stahl is in the Tombs because of his inability to furnish a prohibitive bail. He is as badly situated as a "German spy" in the Tower of London. All that this man was guilty of was to make affidavit that he saw guns aboard the *Lusitania* as she was about to sail. He reasserted the fact before the grand jury of New York and was immediately made a prisoner on a charge of perjury, and placed under $10,000 bail, which he has been unable to furnish.

Is this meant as a warning to all those who know of facts that might bring the truth to light? Why has no summons been issued for Richard Harding Davis, who testified in an article in the November issue of *Scribner's* that he saw the *Lusitania* converted into a cruiser.

Why has no summons been issued for the editors of the New York *Tribune*, who asserted in that paper that the *Lusitania* was equipped for war and was an auxiliary British cruiser?

Why is no official cognizance taken of the evidence supplied by the London weekly, *Engineering*, for May 14 last (seven days after the loss of the ship), which printed diagrams of the *Lusitania* showing that she had eight guns on the shelter deck and four on the forward part of the promenade deck, besides showing the "magazine or shell room" in the plan of the hold?

The collector of the port declares he saw no guns aboard the *Lusitania* when he inspected her. This same official declared that he had unimpeachable evidence that the English warships at the mouth of New York harbor were being supplied by New York dealers, and then of a sudden collapsed and turned tail. The captain of the ship testifies that she carried no guns. Is he an interested witness, and is his testimony more credible than that of the New Jersey minister of the gospel who declares that he saw her guns projecting from her decks as he crossed the river in a ferry boat?

The President invites Germany to produce proof that the vessel was armed, but every effort to produce evidence on this side is apparently being hampered by government and State officials. It is actually becoming dangerous for an American citizen to express views that do not conform to the standard of Lord Northcliffe's unnaturalized editors of the New York press. Any one who has evidence that the *Lusitania* was armed, as she was according to the sources quoted, runs the risk of being summarily cast into prison on a charge of perjury and left there to reflect on his foolhardiness.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

ENGLAND has lost among others the battleships *Irresistible, Formidable, Dauntless, Audacious, Bulwark, Majestic, Agamemnon* and the latest boat sunk has the alluring name of *Triumph*. The next English ship to go down will probably be the *Unsinkable*.

THE STORY OF THE WAR OF 1920

ONE phase of the English propaganda in this country has been somewhat overlooked by the "tired business man." We refer to that poisoned stream of literature which in the form of fiction and poetry has so stained our literary output. Many of our most popular magazines print stories which in some way or other reflect upon the German character. We mean, for example, such stories as E. Phillips Oppenheim's, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, and Cleveland Moffett's serial in *McClure's*. The villain is of course German and the unscrupulous diplomatic agent hails from Wilhelmstrasse. So, unconsciously, many readers acquire a prejudice against Germany and all things German.

Quite in a different vein will be the new serial, "The Story of the War of 1920," shortly to be published in THE FATHERLAND. This fascinating story is the work of a brilliant young writer, whose name for the present, at least, cannot be divulged. He supposes that in 1920 the United States will be sleek and happy. Suddenly Japan strikes her inevitable blow. But what happen's in X's prophetic tale will be discovered in the reading thereof. It is sufficient to say that the story is one of the most remarkable and thrilling of war stories.

CANCELLING AMERICAN PASSPORTS

THE State Department recently cancelled the passports of two American citizens in Berlin because they had criticized the policy of the Administration. This action calls for a Congressional investigation. Since when has the State Department the power practically to annul the rights of American citizens? The two men are said to have declared that on account of the shipment of implements of murder from the United States, they were ashamed of their American citizenship. Can we blame them for being ashamed for their country in view of the long trains of soldiers wounded and maimed by American bullets? Can we blame them for being ashamed of their government, in view of the host of weeping women and children who might well parade the streets with placards bearing this legend:

> Widows and Orphans
> Made in the
> United States

Was not Major Langhorn, were not all our military observers, recalled because they could not endure the sight of the misery wrought in Europe by our damnable traffic in murder?

Since when has an American citizen forfeited the right to criticize the policies of his country? It may not be tactful to make statements like those attributed to these two men in a foreign country, but nothing short of treason can invalidate their status as American citizens. And treason is a well defined offense. The State Department cannot try citizens for treason because they disagree with the policy of the Administration. If this were possible, many Americans might feel inclined to emigrate to Russia in order to breathe the atmosphere of a free country.

There is, however, another aspect to this question. The action of the State Department is apt to interfere with the freedom of speech of Americans not only in Germany, but also in the United States. The Berlin correspondent of a New York daily has informed us that he is afraid to send important facts derogatory to certain members of the American Embassy to his paper because he fears that reprisals on the part of the State Department may leave him stranded without protection in Europe's Armageddon.

THE CARTOON OF THE WEEK

England—"Not Prussia, Russia!"
Von Mackensen—"Ach, Russia has just stepped out!"

—N. Y. *Evening Sun.*

WHAT IS THE TROUBLE WITH THE PRESIDENT?

IN a letter to THE FATHERLAND, Charlotte Teller refers to Woodrow Wilson as one of those Americans whose loyalty "might" be "questioned." What Miss Teller means is that, if foreign descent is in itself a sign of suspicion, then the loyalty of President Wilson might be questioned because his mother was an English woman. As a matter of course, it is foolish to doubt the loyalty of the President, but no more foolish than to doubt the loyalty of Americans of German or Irish descent. The President is undoubtedly an American patriot, even if his judgment is warped by certain influences of environment and heredity. There always is a kink somewhere in the human machine. We all think straight up to a certain point, but when that is reached, our thoughts, propelled by powerful subconscious influences, are suddenly diverted from their goal. The brain, like the eye, has its blind spot.

The President's blind spot is England. Mr. Wilson can see most things very clearly, but he cannot see that England is in the wrong. He has no knowledge of Germany or of German culture. All the traditions of his intellectual life are English. He can no more decide against England than a child can decide against its own mother in court. But the President has a strongly developed sense of abstract, if highly technical, justice. If it can made clear to him by the emphatic testimony of the people that his vision is deceiving him, he may be able to discover by abstract intellectual processes that Sir Edward Grey and his associates are deceiving not only the world but that they are betraying the best traditions of England herself.

Unfortunately, President Wilson is surrounded by flatterers like the King in Fulda's "Talisman," whose courtiers assured him that he was clothed in precious garments when he was in reality naked. One of his most powerful advisors is under the domination of Wall Street traditions; another, even more aggressive, a Canadian by birth, no doubt with the best of intentions, plays the game of Great Britain. Even Mr. Bryan's resignation has not opened the President's eyes. Let us hope that the magnificent labor demonstration in New York, on Saturday, the nineteenth of June, and the mass meeting at Madison Square Garden on the twenty-fourth, may serve as eye-openers. The American people cannot in justice to themselves permit the President's limitations to drag the country into war and to undo the process of amalgamation in our national melting pot.

A TRIP THROUGH HEADLINE LAND

By the Author of "The Catechism of Balaam, Jr."

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THE *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* is among the papers which assisted the Allied Warships to reduce all—note *all*—the Dardanelles forts, and made the momentous discovery that the gateway to Constantinople was open; that was some months ago. Doubtless this headline is kept standing and is used at frequent intervals. Perhaps the *Globe-Democrat's* editors might be induced to make the trip through the Dardanelles on a warship flying the English or French flag, seeing that the forts are *all* reduced and the gateway open. And if the Allies will not put a warship at their disposal, the publishers of this pamphlet will gladly take up a popular subscription to charter a yacht to take said editors through the gateway to Constantinople, under the English or French flag.

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NEWS FROM GERMANY

By Louis Viereck, Berlin Correspondent

Russia Must Become an Asiatic Empire.

THE more progressive countries of Europe realize more and more that the Russian barbarians must be driven out of Europe into Asia. The stage of civilization which Russia has reached is below the level of Europe and harmonizes better with Asia. As long as the Czar, who rules over 10 per cent. of all mankind, threatens Europe and can at any time convert the most prosperous lands into a desolate wilderness, and as long as Europe is not safe from the savage Cossack hordes, the knout-bearers of Russia, life and property can never be safeguarded in Central Europe. Until Russia is driven out of Europe, the Central Powers, like their Turkish allies, are in a constant state of self-defense against a land of organized looting, murder, savagery and destruction of all human cultural achievements.

Even 60 years ago a Bethmann-Hollweg party existed in Germany. Its official organ was the *Prussian Weekly* (Preussische Wochenblatt), hence it was also known as the Weekly Party (Wochenblatt Partei). The policy of that party was to dismember Russia in Europe, and push her away from the Black and Baltic Seas. It was only a small party, but powerful because of its court and official connections. The leader of the "Wochenblatt Partei" was the grandfather of the present German Chancellor, viz., Moritz August v. Bethmann-Hollweg, Prussian Privy Councillor and later Minister of Education. Bismarck once said that the King of Prussia was only vegetating as a "Russian vassal." The Wochenblatt partisans wanted to abolish that unbearable state of things and raise Prussia to a real and independent power. They were in the first place good patriots. For this reason they maintained in the *Prussian Weekly* that the interests of Germany demanded a policy of weakening and diminishing the power of the Russian State. So they demanded that Prussia should side with the Allies in the Crimean war which, as is well known, was undertaken to check the excessive power of Russia, as far as was practicable. Perhaps it was not one of the least political mistakes committed by Frederick William IV to keep his sword sheathed, and to let slip by the favorable opportunity of enfeebling Russia.

The "Ukrainian Central Organization" has just published an essay by Dimitroff Donjoff, entitled "The Ukrainian State Idea and the War Against Russia" (published by Karl Kroll, Berlin). The booklet is worth reading, and has come out at an opportune moment. Donjoff tells us that Baron Karl Christian von Bunsen, then Prussian Ambassador in London, and a personal friend of the King, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence, wrote a "Secret Memorial on the Present State and the Future of the Russian Crisis," which was submitted to the King in 1854. "The Orien-

tal question," says Bunsen, "has become a European question; the Turkish crisis has been converted to a Russian crisis. Now, when war has broken out, it would be fatal to forget that. . . . Now is the time to do what Frederick the Great, nay, Napoleon were unable to do, viz., to break the Czar's predominance and to confine Russia to her natural borders. That would allow the two Central Powers to regain the freedom of European politics. For that end, however, considerable territorial cessions on the part of Russia are indispensable. I refer to Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland and the whole Ukraine.

"Constantinople is neither safe in Christian nor Turkish hands as long as Russia is mistress of the Black Sea. Hence, it is absolutely necessary to deprive Russia of the Crimea, Bessarabia and Tauria."

More than 60 years ago Bunsen saw clearly the crux of the whole Russian question as far as Europe is concerned. Russia must be cut off from every access to European waters and be forced into her natural element. She must become an Asiatic power and come to the best possible arrangement with the Yellow Race about the supremacy in Asia. Herr v. Bethmann, the grandfather, evidently approved of the secret plan of his partisan; why not his grandson, too? That is our hope even now, when it is too early to discuss the special objects of the war in the press.

The Yellow Peril

DURING the recent insurrections of Indian troops against their commanders in Singapore the British Government was forced to use—as it did in East Asia against the Germans—Japanese soldiers, placed at the disposal of the British authorities by the Mikado's representative there—against her own subjects. On this occasion a peculiar incident occurred. At a sign from the Japanese Consul in Singapore, a large, well equipped military force, consisting of Japanese merchants, servants and other apparently harmless wage-earners, sprang up over night. It was quite easy for this force to suppress the dangerous mutiny because it was well armed and well supplied with ammunition.

Little, if any, attention has been paid by the press of the world to this occurrence because it did not suit the Allies to have the Yellow men reveal their plans so plainly at this time. They brazenly pose as the real rulers of the Pacific Ocean, subjugate China, ostensibly protect India in the interests of their British ally, menace

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Australia and have by their invasion of Turtle Bay in Mexico, even gained a foothold upon the American continent. It had been expected in Europe that the violation of the Monroe Doctrine by the Japanese would not be tolerated, as their occupation of a part of lower California would endanger not only the Panama Canal, but also the American Metropolis—San Francisco—the Queen of the Pacific.

But how about Hawaii which has been in undisputed American possession since 1896 and which, owing to its strategic importance alone, cannot possibly be relinquished?

According to census statistics of the Department of Labor the population of these groups of islands were numerically composed of the following nationalities:

	1853	1884	1910
Kanakas	70,036	40,014	26,041
Mixed-breeds	983	4,218	12,506
Japanese	....	116	79,674
Chinese	364	17,937	21,674
Miscellaneous	1,755	18,293	52,014
Population, total,	73,138	80,578	192,139

There were 4,533 Coreans among the miscellaneous population, so that the number of Asiatics, according to the last census returns, comprised:

79,674 Japanese
21,674 Chinese, and
4,533 Coreans, or the total of

105,881 Asiatics, which is more than 55 per cent. of the total population. Among the 41,678 workers in sugar plantations were 32,542 Asiatics, exclusive of the Philippines. This means that five years ago the Asiatics in Hawaii numerically competed already with the total strength of the United States army and surpassed it perhaps in strength. After the experiences in Singapore, it may be assumed that a similar occurrence may take place in Honolulu. In such an event the Coolies employed on the plantations may play an important part in the developments. Ten or more years ago such apprehensions were already discussed in the American press. It was emphatically stated that the Japanese emigration bore the character of an army of invasion, composed wholly or in part of experienced soldiers.

If one considers that five years have passed since the last census was taken, and that the Japanese immigration grew from 116 to 79,674 during the preceding 25 years (i.e., it increased 1,700 fold), one may realize the extent of the present overwhelming superiority of the Japanese population in Hawaii. Should a Japanese battle squadron ever appear before Pearl Harbor their subjugation could hardly be accomplished by the forces of the American naval station maintained there. Even the opening of the Panama Canal does not offer any better prospects at present, as this difficult passage is unfortunately not yet navigable for larger warships owing to the frequent earth slides in the Culebra cut. Added to this is the fact that the fine bat-

tleships of the United States are insufficiently equipped and carry an inadequate supply of ammunition on board for immediate use in case of a Japanese attack.

But the whole American nation should consider from this viewpoint the abominable practice of supplying arms and ammunition to the Allies.

An English Custom

(Translation of an article, regarding the English steamer *La Rosarina*, in the daily paper *La Unión*, of Buenos Aires, of May 12, 1915. The article was illustrated by photographs showing the guns in question.)

THE ARTILLERY OF THE STEAMER *LA ROSARINA*

On various occasions we have spoken of the new English custom of arming merchant vessels. We again spoke of the subject in an article published in our issue of yesterday. In the article entitled, "The Present Moment of the War," we said verbally:

" . . . Everybody knows that England has armed her merchant vessels. We have seen here in Buenos Aires with our own eyes the cannons aboard the *Darro*. We have seen photographs of the *Fallaba*, which showed various pieces of artillery. Last Saturday (May 8) there arrived at our port the steamer *La Rosarina* which, according to declarations made by her passengers, attacked on April 15 a German submarine, firing seven shots from her four guns of 70 millimeter caliber (about 3")."

Since we are not accustomed to make unproven assertions, we have secured proof of our statement. To-day we have the satisfaction of offering to our readers two graphic documents which certainly will be sufficient to convince even the most incredulous of the truth of our assertions, since in the pictures reproduced herewith there can be seen with all clearness the formidable cannons which the English steamer *La Rosarina* has aboard, which steamer is tied up at pier 4 of our port, where all our readers can go to see for themselves.

It is well worth while to take a constitutional walk to the wharf to get ocular proof of what "English truth" is worth.

THE FATHERLAND

Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

Edited by
GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK

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